

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 065896

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY

FOL RPT ANKARA 2132 ACTION SECSTATE 23 MAR 77 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 2132

NODIS

FOR HARTMAN AND NIMETZ ONLY

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1. WHILE I FULLY RECOGNIZE THE DESIRABILITY OF WHAT
YOU ARE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH, I WONDER IF IT WOULD NOT
BE WISE FOR US TO BE SOMEWHAT LESS FORTHCOMING IN OUR
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOG CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION'S
PRESSURE TACTICS WITH THE TURKS. IN A SITUATION WHERE
I CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT THE RESPECTIVE MERITS AND
DEMERITS OF OUR TWO ALLIES ARE PRETTY THOROUGHLY
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MIXED, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT GETTING TOO FULLY INTO
PARTNERSHIP WITH ONE AGAINST THE OTHER INVITES SERIOUS
UNNECESSARY RISKS RESPECTING OUR ULTIMATE MOBILITY
AND FLEXIBILITY.

2. MOREOVER, IN THE MIXED-MERIT SIUTATION IN WHICH
WE ARE DEALING, I WONDER WHETHER WE SHOULD BE PUTTING

PRESSURE ONLY ON ONE OF THE TWO PARTIES INVOLVED, AS WE PRESENTLY SEEM TO BE DOING. THE GREEKS' STALLING ON THE DCA, FOR EXAMPLE, IS APPARENTLY NOT BEING MET BY ANY US COUNTER PRESSURE, NOR IS THE GOG BEING TOLD THAT REGARDLESS OF HOW PASSIONATE ITS OFT-REPEATED FEELINGS ARE, THE USG CANNOT ACCEPT A GREEK STANCE TO THE EFFECT THAT LEGAL TURKISH ACTIVITIES IN THE AEGEAN (ALBEIT IRRITATING) ARE A CASUS BELLI. HOWEVER, RECOGNIZING THAT JACK WOULD HAVE A FAR BETTER JUDGMENT ON THESE LATTER TWO SCORES THAN I, LET ME REVERT TO MY BASIC POINT.

3. THIS IS THAT IN PURSUING OUR PRESSURE TACTICS WITH THE TURKS, WE MUST NOT GET SO LOCKED IN WITH THE GOG OR WITH ESPECIALLY INTERESTED ELEMENTS IN CONGRESS THAT WE LOSE OUR MOBILITY IN THIS SITUATION. THE EFFORT TO DEVELOP BETTER RAPPORT BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THESE INTERESTED CONGRESSIONAL ELEMENTS IS, OF COURSE, A PARTICULARLY WELCOME ONE. I WORRY, HOWEVER, THAT THIS VERY LEGITIMATE EFFORT, IF CARRIED BEYOND A CERTAIN POINT, COULD END UP GETTING US COMMITTED TO A POLICY WHICH PERMITS A LESSER SITUATION IN TERMS OF US NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS (CYPRUS) TO DESTROY A LARGER ONE (THE US-TURKISH SECURITY PARTNERSHIP). IT COULD END UP, AS WELL, UNDERMINING OUR CAPACITY TO MODERATE TURKISH ACTIONS IN A POTENTIAL FLARE-UP OF FIGHTING IN THE AEGEAN. I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS IS NOT REPEAT NOT THE RESULT THAT A MAJORITY OF THE CONGRESS DESIRES.

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RM WHILE I WISH AN INSTRUMENT OTHER THAN THE DCA COULD HAVE BEEN CHOSEN, AND I WISH FURTHER THAT WE HAD BEEN ABLE TO AVOID SUCH AN OPEN LINKAGE WITH THE DCA, I FULLY UNDERSTAND AND SUPPORT THE DESIRABILITY OF PRESSURING THE GOT AT THIS TIME FOR PROGRESS IN CYPRUS. WHAT I AM SAYING IN ESSENCE, HOWEVER, IS THAT WE ARE PLAYING A HIGH-RISK GAME WITH THE TURKS, AND WE MUST KEEP AS MUCH CONTROL AS POSSIBLE OF ONGOING DECISIONS RELATING TO IT, PARTICULARLY THE DECISION AS TO WHEN WE WILL SEEK CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE DCA. MACOMBER

UNQUOTE MACOMBER

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